

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

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DRAFTED BY EUR/SE:EJMARCO:AM
APPROVED BY C:MNIMETZ
EUR/SE:RCEWING
EUR:GSVEST
H:NCLEDSKY
S/S-O:LFLEISHER

-----042749 250129Z /14

O R 250048Z JUL 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 186954

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, TU, CY, GR

SUBJECT: SENATE CONSIDERATION OF ARMS EMBARGO

REF: ANKARA 5357

1. TURKISH AMBASSADOR ESENBEL CALLED ON DEPARTMENT
COUNSELOR NIMETZ JULY 24 REGARDING AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED
IN SENATE CONCERNING TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO. ESENBEL SAID
HE HAD SENT TO ANKARA JULY 21 TEXT WHICH HE UNDERSTOOD
MCGOVERN PLANNED TO INTRODUCE. HE RECALLED THAT EUR/SE
DIRECTOR EWING HAD TELEPHONED HIM AT REQUEST DEPUTY SECRE-
TARY CHRISTOPHER SATURDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 22, TO INDICATE
THAT SENATOR BYRD HAD INFORMED PRESS CONFERENCE THAT DAY
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THAT HE INTENDED INTRODUCE AMENDMENT.

NIMETZ AND EWING
STRESSED THAT JULY 21 DRAFT AMENDMENT HAD BEEN MODIFIED
FURTHER OVER THE WEEKEND AND MIGHT WELL BE SUBJECT ADDI-
TIONAL CHANGES IN COURSE OF DAY.

2. DEPARTMENT IS TRANSMITTING SEPTEL LATEST VERSION OF PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY SENATOR BYRD.

3. ESENBEL NOTED THAT GOT STRONGLY PREFERS A SIMPLE REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO. THE MCGOVERN AMENDMENT WOULD REPLACE THE EXISTING EMBARGO WITH "TOO MANY CONDITIONS", PARTICULARLY THE REQUIREMENT THAT A REPORT ON PROGRESS TOWARD CONCLUSION OF A NEGOTIATED CYPRUS SOLUTION BE MADE TO THE CONGRESS EVERY SIXTY DAYS AND THE PROVISION THAT THE PRESIDENT CERTIFY IN REQUESTING ASSISTANCE THAT PROGRESS EITHER HAD OCCURRED OR WOULD BE FACILITATED BY THE ASSISTANCE. ESENBEL ALSO CRITICIZED OTHER ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT AMENDMENT, SUCH AS THE REFERENCE TO THE PRESENCE OF TURKISH TROOPS ON CYPRUS AS INCONSISTENT WITH THE INDEPENDENCE OF CYPRUS. HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT IF THE FEBRUARY 1977 DENKTASH-MAKARIOS GUIDELINES WERE MENTIONED, THEY BE QUOTED IN TOTO.

4. NIMETZ STRESSED THAT THE AMENDMENT DID NOT IMPOSE CONDITIONS, WOULD APPLY TO ALL THREE COUNTRIES IN THE AREA, NOT JUST TURKEY, AND WOULD BE IN THE NATURE OF A REAFFIRMATION OF EXISTING U.S. POLICIES. PROGRESS ON CYPRUS IS CLEARLY ONE IMPORTANT FACTOR IN MAKING FUTURE ASSISTANCE RECOMMENDATIONS. THE PROPOSED REPORTING REQUIREMENT ON CYPRUS WAS ONLY SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT FROM THE CURRENT REQUIREMENT, AND WE WOULD NOT BE LIMITED TO REPORT ONLY ON CONFIDENTIAL

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TURKISH POSITIONS. IF THE GOC WERE INTRANSIGENT, THAT WOULD BE A RELEVANT FACTOR TO BE REPORTED.

5. ESENBEL INDICATED REACTION IN TURKEY TO THE AMENDMENT WAS LIKELY TO BE ADVERSE. THE AMBIGUITIES OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT WOULD BE UNFAVORABLY COMPARED TO THE SIMPLE 1975 VOTE IN THE SENATE TO REPEAL THE EMBARGO. THE CERTIFICATION LANGUAGE CONSTITUTES AN IMPLIED THREAT TO REINSTITUTE THE EMBARGO AT ANY TIME.

6. NIMETZ EMPHASIZED THAT THE BYRD AMENDMENT WOULD REPEAL THE EMBARGO. THE AMENDMENT WOULD NOT GIVE CONGRESS ANY NEW POWER THEY NOW LACK. THEY COULD REIMPOSE THE EMBARGO (ALTHOUGH THAT WAS VERY UNLIKELY) OR REFUSE TO VOTE ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY IN ANY EVENT. NIMETZ SAID THAT FOR SOME SENATORS LANGUAGE ALONG THE LINES OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT IS CONSIDERED NECESSARY TO SECURE THE NECESSARY VOTES FOR REPEAL. NIMETZ TOLD ESENBEL THAT FURTHER TEXTUAL CHANGES WERE POSSIBLE.

7. NIMETZ TELEPHONED ESENBEL EVENING JULY 24 TO SAY THAT FOLLOWING THEIR MEETING EARLIER IN THE DAY, HE HAD READ

ACCOUNT (REFTEL) OF OKCUN/DILLON MEETING. NIMETZ SAID WE UNDERSTOOD TURKISH CONCERNS BUT THAT BYRD AMENDMENT CLEARLY LIFTED EMBARGO AND WOULD BE SEEN IN CYPRUS AND

GREECE AND BY OPPONENTS OF EMBARGO REPEAL AS VICTORY FOR ADMINISTRATION AND FOR U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS. NIMETZ SAID HE WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED BY OKCUN STATEMENT THAT THERE WOULD BE GREAT DIFFICULTY IN REACTIVATING U.S. BASES SHOULD AMENDMENT BE ADOPTED. IF THAT REALLY WAS CONSIDERED GOT POSITION, THIS WOULD CAUSE US REAL PROBLEMS ON HILL AND WOULD BE PARTICULARLY DISTRESSING TO THOSE, INCLUDING HIMSELF, WHO WERE WORKING TO SECURE LIFTING OF EMBARGO AND IMPROVEMENT IN US-TURKEY RELATIONSHIP. HE NOTED THAT SENATOR DANFORTH (R.-MO) HAD ALREADY EXPRESSED
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CONCERN AS TO WHETHER BYRD/MCGOVERN AMENDMENT WOULD LEAD TO GOT ALLOWING BASES TO REOPEN.

8. AFTER CONSULTING BY TELEPHONE WITH SECRETARY GENERAL ELEKDAG, ESENBEL TELEPHONED NIMETZ AGAIN TO REITERATE THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT IS EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT THREE ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSED BYRD/MCGOVERN AMENDMENT: A) THE PROVISION, WHICH INTRODUCES LANGUAGE ABOUT SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES THROUGH INTERNATIONALLY ESTABLISHED PEACEFUL PROCEDURES AND THE NONUSE OR THREAT OF FORCE, APPEARS TO ADOPT ALL THE GREEK POSITIONS ON THE AEGEAN DISPUTE; B) THE PROVISION WHICH MAKES PRESERVATION OF THE PRESENT MILITARY BALANCE BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY AN ASPECT OF U.S. POLICY IS CONSIDERED INAPPROPRIATE; AND C) THE PROVISION WHICH REQUIRES THAT U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE REGION, INCLUDING MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, BE JUDGED IN PART ON PROGRESS TOWARD A CYPRUS SOLUTION, APPEARS TO RESTORE LINKAGE TO AN EVEN GREATER DEGREE.

9. WITH RESPECT TO REOPENING THE BASES, ESENBEL STATED THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT REAFFIRMED THE COMMITMENTS OF PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT THAT AFTER THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO, THERE WOULD BE QUICK NEGOTIATIONS FOR REOPENING THE BASES. HOWEVER, THE GOT FEARED THAT NEGATIVE PUBLIC REACTION ON THE THREE POINTS MENTIONED ABOVE (PARA 8) MIGHT HAVE AN INHIBITING POLITICAL EFFECT ON THE REOPENING OF THE BASES.

10. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LETTER WHICH DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER SENT SENATOR DANFORTH EVENING JULY 24:

QUOTE I UNDERSTAND YOU HAVE INQUIRED WHETHER THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY WOULD ALLOW THE U.S. INSTALLATIONS IN
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TURKEY, WHICH ARE PRESENTLY CLOSED, TO BE REOPENED SHOULD THE CONGRESS ENACT THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE ACT TO BE OFFERED BY SENATOR BYRD AND OTHERS. BASED ON MY REVIEW OF A RECENT DRAFT OF THAT AMENDMENT, IT IS MY JUDGMENT THAT THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO

ON TURKEY, WHICH THE AMENDMENT WOULD ACCOMPLISH, WILL LEAD TO REOPENING OF THE INSTALLATIONS.

IT WILL, OF COURSE, BE NECESSARY TO WORK OUT WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY A SATISFACTORY BASIS FOR THE OPERATION OF THESE FACILITIES. BASED ON OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH HIGH TURKISH OFFICIALS, I AM CONFIDENT THAT NEGOTIATIONS TO THIS END CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED UITHOUT DELAY AFTER THE EMBARGO IS LIFTED. END QUOTE VANCE

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